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A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.¹

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III. MORPHOLOGY.²

THE NOUN.

§ 781. Under this head are included substantives and adjectives. The difficulties which present themselves to us in the classification of nouns even in Syriac are infinitely augmented in Babylonian Aramaic, both on account of the uncertainty of the vocalization, as well as from the lack of a dictionary answering modern requirements. The classification can, therefore, at best, be only tentative. Still it is hoped that even such a tentative attempt will result in much that is positive; it will clear up many uncertainties, and furnish points for further research in many directions.

§ 782. It has been the author's endeavor in this chapter, as throughout this entire work, to give a complete enumeration of existing forms, as far as such a thing is at present possible: Illustrative examples have been selected with the following points of view: to present such words, where possible,

(1) which, etymologically and morphologically, are more certain;

(2) which illustrate phonetic laws not mentioned in the first part of this work;

(3) which give occasion for etymological remarks;

(4) for which there are examples with *matres lectionis*, so that their form can be established beyond a doubt.

§ 783. Among the many difficulties exhibited by the talmudic noun, one phenomenon is especially marked—the multiplicity of forms of one and the same word. Cf., for instance, סְכֻלָּא, סִכְלָא, סִכְלָא, סִכְלָא, סִכְלָא, fool, VL., B.B. 126 b; פִּיֶּשָׁא, פִּיֶּשָׁא, fish; וְיִמְנָא, וְיִמְנָא, fish.

¹ See *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 21-78, 118-139, 177-208; Vol. XIV, pp. 17-37, 106-128, 195-206, 252-266.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 50, 118, 177; Vol. XIV, pp. 17, 106, 195, 252.

זְמַנָּא, *time*; גִּדְּשָׁא, גִּדְּאָשָׁא, *heap*; שְׂטָרָא, שְׂטָרָא, *document*; פְּנֵאֲרִי, פְּנֵאֲרִי, *variant(s)*; תְּלִיתִין, תְּלִיתִין, *thirty*; אֲחֻזָּא, אֲחֻזָּא, *handle(s)*; אֲגוּרָא, אֲגוּרָא, אֲגוּרָא, *employer*; אֲחֻזָּא, אֲחֻזָּא, *sister*; חֲמִיתָא, חֲמִיתָא, *mother-in-law*; קִבְּעָא, קִבְּעָא, *fixing*, and many others. Now, some of these forms are undoubtedly original and legitimate by-forms; as, *e. g.*, the last example cited. Others are, no doubt, reduced forms; as, *e. g.*, אֲחֻזָּא, Arab. أُخْتُ, and חֲמִיתָא. Again, others are probably broken plurals; as the forms from which פְּנֵאֲרִי and גִּדְּשָׁא are derived.¹ Still this does not explain all the phenomena.² A satisfactory explanation is afforded only by the recognition of the fact that forms of the types فَعْل and فُعْل appear not only as קְטוּל, קְטוּל, or קְטוּל; קְטוּל, קְטוּל, or קְטוּל; and קְטוּל, קְטוּל, or קְטוּל; but also as קְטוּל, קְטוּל; קְטוּל, קְטוּל; and קְטוּל, קְטוּל, קְטוּל, קְטוּל, קְטוּל, קְטוּל.

§ 784. The present state of our knowledge of Semitic phonetics and nominal formation makes the task of proving such a proposition a hopeless one. I would only limit myself to state that the current belief that Aramaic qāmēç always represents an original *ā* does no justice to the facts. In many cases Aramaic qāmēç is, like the Hebrew qāmēç, merely a produced *ā*. The only difference between Aramaic and Hebrew, with regard to the production of *ā* to *ā*, is that in the latter the process is still in full life, while in the former we have only petrified remnants of this process. Everybody will admit that in the Syriac equivalents רְצִיחָא, רְסִין, עֵבֶר, מְנַשֵּׁךְ, of the Hebrew חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד, qāmēç represents *ā*; but nobody seems willing to do the same in the case of מְחַרְרָא, מְחַרְרָא, מְחַרְרָא, קְהֵלָא, the equivalents of Hebrew מְחַרְרֵי, מְחַרְרֵי, מְחַרְרֵי, and קְהֵל.

§ 785. From the above quoted examples of מְחַרְרָא, etc., we also learn that qāmēç may stand for a helping vowel. This explains the targumic form בְּרִין, the diphthongized form of the Persian gūn. This form is later easily mistaken for *qattal* and explains the Hebrew form בְּרִינִים.

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *ZDMG.*, LI, p. 659.

² Cf. also König, *Hebr. Gramm.*, II, 1, pp. 470 *seqq.*, for additional explanations.

§ 786. The recognition that the production of \check{a} to \bar{a} is still a more or less living process in Aramaic throws light on the numerous cases mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, where we found unexpected *qāmēç*, and proves the correctness and reliability, in the majority of cases, of living tradition. I say "in the majority of cases." For I am not blind to the fact that in some cases tradition may be wrong; but the more I have worked in this field, the more my conviction has grown that mere *a priori* theories are worthless in this field, and then the more so when they are in opposition to authenticated tradition, even if that tradition be only oral. I am conscious to be in this regard in opposition to preconceived notions, but doubt not that those who will give the subject an unbiased and earnest investigation will finally come around to my way of looking at it.

§ 787. In the light of the above I want to point out that I do not consider forms like *תַּמְנִי*, *עִבְדָּא*, and the like, as false, because the superlinear vocalization of the Targûmîm shows still a long vowel under the second stem-consonant. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that even as near a dialect as Palestinian Aramaic need not in every case agree with our Babylonian Aramaic, and that Babylonian Aramaic continued to live and develop for many centuries after Palestinian Aramaic had died out. Many of the corruptions of the current vocalization of the Targûmîm are probably due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, with which the *naqdanîm* were more familiar.

NOTE.—The limited space at my disposal, as well as the nature of footnotes, have induced me to be concise in my etymological explanations. Sometimes I have limited myself to a mere suggestion. It is, therefore, hoped that students will examine the respective dictionaries before passing judgment on the proposed etymologies.

SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE ONLY.

1. ONE SHORT VOWEL.

فُعِلَ.—§ 788. To the regular forms given below it must be added that, under the influence of adjacent consonants, *qatl* may pass into *qill* or *qutl*; *qill* into *qutl* or *qatl*; *qutl* into *qill* (or *qatl*?). Thereby the original vowel may be kept under the first

consonant in one form, and the derived vowel under the second consonant in another form, and *vice versa*. Thus we have יִתְּרָא, *cord*; גִּדְּשָׁא, *heap*; זִמְנָא,² *time*.

§ 789. The laws under which these vowel changes take place cannot yet be stated with accuracy; but the following general rules may already be given.

1. *qatl* passes into *qill* mostly in stems having a guttural as its last consonant, under the influence of **שׁ**, and in **ע"ע** forms, when the sharpened consonant is followed by a vowel.

2. *qatl* passes into *qutl* under the influence of labials, liquids, emphatic consonants, ڤ and ڤ, when these sounds directly follow the vowel.

3. *qitl* passes into *qutl* under the same conditions as *qatl* does, but less frequently.

4. *qitl* passes into *qatl* when its vowel is in a closed syllable before a guttural—but this happens only in a few cases—and under the same conditions and with the same frequency as *qutl* passes into *qatl*.

5. *qutl* and *qill* frequently interchange for other than phonetic reasons, and, according to some, through *ū*. For *qutl* passing into *qatl* cf. Barth, *NB.*, p. xxx. Whether forms like אֲנִי, אֲהֵלָא, דִּפְנָא, for אֲנִיָּא,³ אֲהֵלָאָא, דִּפְנָאָא, are to be pronounced with *ā* or *ō* in the first syllable, is impossible to decide.

qatl.—§ 790. a) אֶלֶף, אֶלְפָּא, *thousand*; אֶקָלָא *grain*, R. Nissim המפתח 59b = תבואה Ned. 55a,⁴ בַּעַל, בַּעֲלָא, *husband*, אֶשְׁלָא *cord* = وَثَل, Assyr. 'ašli; אֶשֶׁל may be a loan-word; גַּבַּר,

¹ R. Nissim, **המפתח** 32b = Sabb. 35a.

² *TG*. ed. Harkavy, § 74.

³ כִּי כִסְלָא לִאֲזוּגֵי means: like the قَشْر husk around the عَجْوَة date, or kernel; that is, very close. From the same قَشْر we get כּוּסִילָא lancet. The ultimate root is قָשַׁשׁ.

⁴This word belongs to a widely ramified group, going back to a changeable root, **קל**, **כל**, **קל**, **קל**, **קל**. The first consonant of the triconsonantal stem appears in four series: labials, gutturals, dentals, and sibilants. The primitive meaning of the root is *break through, come forth, hence produce*. Then it was specialized to various kinds of plants and young animals. For the connection between plant and animal cf. **קפרה**, **קפרה**, **קפרה**, Latin *pullus* and *pullulare*.

a) Labial series: بَقَلٌ, Ethiop. baq^uala, *grow, produce*, and derivatives; Assy. buqlu *vegetables*, baqlum *sprout*; فَقَلٌ *grow luxuriantly*, and derivatives; فُحْلٌ.

גִּבְרָא, *man*, plur. גִּבְרִי; ¹עֹלָם *young man*, Sanh. 95a (= Hebr. עֹלָם, or = גֻּלָּם ?); נַחֲמָא, נַחֲוֵם, *bread*; אֶפְחָזָא קִטְלָא *killing*,² אֶפְחָזָא *levity*; תַּרְבָּא *fat*.³ Plur.: אֶפְרִיָּא, אֶפְרִיָּא, *respect, solicitude for one's honor*, אֶפְרִיָּין *our respect*, with helping vowel; אִמְרִי לֵאמֹר = אֶפְרִיָּין לֵאמֹר ⁴entirely, Assy. gimru.⁵

puglu and puqlu *radish*; מִּקְל, מִּקְל, *fruit of the Theban palm*; מִּקְל, מִּקְל, *bdellium*. Here might belong according to sound and sense מִּקְל, but the grammatical form points to its being a contraction of מִּקְל = מִּקְל. By way of Gegen-sinn: מִּקְל *be unfruitful*; מִּתְקַל *tree not bearing fruit*.

b) Guttural series; עִקְל *produce grapes*; עִקְלִי *unripe fruit*; עִקְלִי *a kind of thorn*; חִקְל *seed producing leaves, etc., planted field* = חִקְלָא; חִקְל *leek*; חִקְלָא *bunch of herbs*; חִקְלָא *high palm*; חִקְלָא *barren*.

Leading over to the sibilant series are אֶשְׁכֹּל, אֶשְׁכֹּל, Eth. 'askāl *cluster*; אֶשְׁכֹּל *a certain plant*; אֶשְׁכֹּל, אֶשְׁכֹּל, etc., *palm branch with unripe fruit*; all with inserted sibilants (§ 46, note).

c) Sibilant series: Eth. sakala = עִקְל II.; עִקְל *cluster*; עִקְל *cudgel*; עִקְל = עִקְל = עִקְל, עִקְל, *young dove*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *basket*; מִשְׁכֹּל = מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *inferior kind of date*. By way of Gegensinn: מִשְׁכֹּל *garden-cress*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *be bereft of children*.

d) מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל = מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *palm*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *basket made of palm leaves*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל = מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *date-basket made of palm leaves*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *dried fruit*; מִשְׁכֹּל, מִשְׁכֹּל, *produce verdure, beget children, and derivatives*.

¹ The plur. גִּבְרִין, which occurs but a few times, is probably of Palestinian origin.

² With prothesis: אֶפְחָזָא SM. No. CCXX.

³ $\sqrt{\text{trb}}$ is a secondary stem of $\sqrt{\text{rb}}$ found in רִבְיָבִים *rain*; רִבְבִּי *greasy spot*; רִבְבִּי *fruit-juice*; Tigre rūbā *river*; Tña. revrevē *sprinkle with water*. Galla wārabā *draw water*, Amh. wadab *river*, Egypt. warem *inundation*; Bilin wārabā, Chamir wirbā, *river*; Saho rōb *rain*, rōbāb *rainstorm*, rōbta *raindrop*; Somali rōb *river*, warabi *to water*. It is at least not certain that, as Gesenius' *Dict.*, 12th ed., asserts, רִבְבִּי *be large* is connected with it. The same applies to P. Smith's *Thesaurus Syr.*, where it is connected with רִבְבִּי *grow*.

⁴ Cf. Samar. אֶפְרִי *thanks*, Heidenheim's *Bibl. Samarit.*, 5-6, index.

⁵ The form is like Targumic לְקִדְמִין; the plural is frequently used in adverbial and prepositional expressions.—(לְקִדְמִין) SM. No. XXVIII.

b) לַפְתָּא *turnip*; שִׁבַּע *seven* (§ 50, 4); נֶשֶׁךְ,¹ *dawn*; פְּלִינְכָא,¹ *spindle*; דִּמּוֹן *demon*;² תִּיגְדָא = מַזְמָן³ *staff*; plur. קֶשֶׁבִּי C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.); שִׁלְחִי *slang*.

c) **בִּיפְנָא** *vine*; **קִירְצָא**.

§ 791. **עֲדָה** *assembly*; **רֹזָה** *rose*; **יָרֵחַ** *month*; **יְתִירָה**, יְתִירָה (§ 788).

§ 792. עָא *laughter* ($\sqrt{\text{האך}} = \text{אחך} = *עך$); נִיפָא T. F., Ker. 6a) *stone*; עֵנָא, עֵאנָא, *small cattle*; פֵּאֵרָא *ribbon*; רִישָׁא, רֵאשָׁא, *head*.

§ 793. עַיִן: *a*) אִנְפָּא, אִנְפָּא, *face*; בִּזְזָא *treasure*; plur. גִּבְרִי
at the side of.

b) עִזָּא *goat*.⁴

§ 794. **דָּע**: Nouns of these stems appear in two forms: *a*) regular, with sharpened syllable, and *b*) with resolution of doubling compensated by long vowel. Forms like מִלֵּלָה = מִלֶּה *live coals* probably go back to longer forms.

a) **גַּת** *gnat*; **בֵּית** *inside*; **בֵּית** *gate*; **יָם** *sea*;
סַרַּסְרָא (§ 91) *prince*.—Plur.: **חַיִּים** *life*.

b) בַּרְיָא, בַּרְיָא, *outside*; דְּנָא *wine-jug*, Syr. ܕܢܐ, Neo-Syr. ܕܢܐ; ܐܘܢ *awn*, VL, H. Hull. 17b = ܐܘܢܐ, on account of its resemblance

¹ The abs. and the constr. states are very rare. But, from the few cases that do occur, the conclusion seems justified that *qatl* gives less frequently a form קָטֵל than the cognate languages. Whether a form like נָשֶׁה is to be pronounced נִשֶּׁה or נִשֵּׁה cannot be decided by the material at hand. Such forms are therefore left unvocalized.

² Cf. רִשָּׁה *demon* in the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Dr. Gaster.

³ **תגד** is a secondary stem of **אגד**; **ג**, of **חג**; **ע** = **ע**.

'The word goes back to ער = עז with primitive meaning *be rough to the senses*, then *strong* in a physiological as well as psychological sense; from the latter the idea of fruitfulness is derived. Here belong שער, זער, יער, וער, מער, מעז, ענז
עטר, ער, עז, עז, עז light rain), שער (but not שער, שער = ענז, and their equivalents in the cognate languages. Here be specially mentioned the names for goat: עטר, יער, מעז, ענז = שער, all except the last meaning *shaggy*. On עטר cf. §980, n. 1. ענז = ענז = Assy. anzû = ענז, and ער, ער, Assy. aru, erû, kinds of eagle, on account of their rough plumage. מוז, מזן, מזן, hair, Targ. מעז.

On interchange of ج and sibilants, cf. جعر = جرّج, جئر = جئج, ببرب = بربب, سبار = سابس, ضبار = ضابس, ربار = رباب, ربع = رعب, دحز = دحر, جعس

last stem-consonant to the second and sharpening of the latter, c) with resolved doubling and consequent compensatory lengthening of first vowel, d) with entire loss of last stem-consonant.

NOTE.—Stems ל"א in all cases and ל"ע when passing into ל"ב are included under this head.

a) אַרְיָא lion; גִּדְיָא, גִּדְיָא, kid; טַבְרָא deer; טַמְרָא (by-forms טַמְרָא, טַמְרָא), literally, *a being engulfed in, overwhelmed by, a sea (of trouble)*, only in the expression טַמְרָא בֵּי טַמְרָא house of mourning,¹ קַסְוָא bowl, plur. קַסְוֵי. — הַרְיָא serpent; סִילְוָא thorn; סִיחְוָא rainy season, winter.

b) קַרְא pumpkin, C. MS. Meg. 4a (voc.), plur. קַרְאֵי *ibid.* (voc.). — קוּצָא, קוּסָא, קִרְסָא = קִסָּא village. The form קִסָּא is

¹ טַמְ (= חם, תן, תל, תל) contains the idea of *moisture*. Here belong: טַמְ be full and overflow, טַמְ sea; غَطَبَ high sea; غَطَبَ swim in open sea; غَطَبَ surge, heave, rush (water); غَطَبَ uproar of sea; תְּהוֹמֹת = Assy. ti'amat abyss; תְּהוֹמֹת (coast-land); טַחֲמֹת rush in mass and with force (water); טַחֲמֹת rushing mass of water; טַחֲמֹת chaos; טַחֲמֹת phlegm; טַחֲמֹת sad; טַחֲמֹת rise, overflow; טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת dirty water; טַחֲמֹת soil (with liquid); טַחֲמֹת be filled with dirty flux (eye); Tña. tēm meqe baptize, rain uninterruptedly; טַחֲמֹת waterspout; Alg. תְּמִינִן = תְּמִינִים = תְּמִינִין = Assy. ti'amat = Eth. taman = Tña. temen = dragon (as personification of the sea); טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת snake; Pal. Syr. טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת sink, properly be overwhelmed by water, be drowned; טַחֲמֹת = Alg. Arab. טַחֲמֹת taste, properly moisten with saliva; טַחֲמֹת ore spumans; טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת moisten; טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת mud; טַחֲמֹת dew; טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת costly wine (cf. our mountain-dew for whiskey, golden fluid for wine); טַחֲמֹת menstruation; טַחֲמֹת = Alg. Arab. טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת misfortune (i. e., overwhelming of troubles); טַחֲמֹת = טַחֲמֹת misfortune, death; טַחֲמֹת death, burial; Tigrē iateme lose his parents through death; 'atim = רְחוּם orphan; טַחֲמֹת mourning, funeral, assembly of the טַחֲמֹת be wet; טַחֲמֹת name for various liquids; טַחֲמֹת pour out, drip with perspiration; טַחֲמֹת IV. liquefy; טַחֲמֹת moisture; טַחֲמֹת heap of ruins, properly a place ruined by inundation; טַחֲמֹת hill, properly high wave; Kafa tabye mourning. To the same root seems also to belong טַחֲמֹת, Assy. tamū unclean and Assy. tem(m)en(n)u clay-cylinder. The connection of the idea of wetness and of that of sinfulness occurs also in other languages. Cf. Quara hūet wet, sinful.

probably an Aramaic loan-word. But *cf.* Beḡa, kišo *small village*.

c) קָלָא = ܩܠܐ = Irob-Saho *kālā clay*; plur. תְּשִׁי *thyme*.—
אֹנָה *lobe*, by-form עֵינֹרִיחָא , עָנָא , עֵנִי , *side*.

d) בֵּר , בִּרְא , *son*; זֵנָא *kind*.

qatlat.—§ 797. a) מִלְכָּחָא *queen*; דִּבְרָחָא *booty, capture of cattle*;¹ כֶּסֶּפְחָא , כְּסִיפְחָא , *money chest*; רַחֲמִיחָא , *love*.

b) אִנְתָּחָא , אִתָּחָא , *woman*; פִּדְעָחָא *wound*.

§ 798. ע"ע: a) אַמְתָּא *cubit*;² הַפְּתָא *pilgrims' fair*; פְּתָא *window*; פִּנְתָּא , אִפְּתָא , *vamp, uppers*, فَنَن , Alg. Arab. فَنَّة ,

¹ Not *pestilence*, as in dictionaries; *cf.* Reifmann, *Beth Talmād*, V, 80.

² This word belongs to a semasiologically very interesting group, starting with the meaning *womb* (no matter what the primitive meaning of the stem might have been), and developing, on the one hand, into that of *woman, mother*, hence into that of *motherly feeling, love, pity, kindness*, etc., or into that of *kindred and progeny*, hence *fruitfulness and plenty*; on the other hand, into that of *receptacle, vessel, measure of capacity*, then of *length*, or into that of *midst, middle, inside*. In the following enumeration some of the links are missing. Mishnic Hebrew אִם , Assy. ummu, *womb*, אִם *mother*, אִמְרָה *people, nation*, Assy. ummānu *people*, ummātu *army*, umāmu *animal*, emūmatu *kinship*, ammamum

a certain vessel, immu *treasure* (= אִמְרָה , אִם , אִמְרָה , *midst*, אִמְרָה *favor*, אִמְרָה *cubit*.

The original meaning, *measure of capacity*, is still retained in אִמְרָה בַּעֲדָה Jer. 51:13: בַּעֲדָה is not measured by the cubit! It is a well-known phenomenon that words retain in certain constructions and phrases a meaning which has otherwise become obsolete.—Assyr. ipu *womb, love*, אִיפָה *measure of capacity*, Assy. aptu *dwelling, man*, אִפְתָּא *balcony, tuber*, iptu *abundance*. The idea of *dwelling, balcony*, seems to go back to that of *receptacle*;

while the meanings *man, tuber*, to that of *progeny and fruitfulness*. Vulg. = وَبَيْة = אִבְיָה .

Arab. أَوْبَة . The relationship between both ideas is, therefore, different from that found in

أَهْل , أَهْل . The Egyptian ip, π, count, is denominative of אִיפָה *measure*.—أَصْرَة

womb, good will, favor, grace, אִפְרָה *treasury, store*, properly *receptacle*; אִפְרָה is denom-

inative.—בֶּטֶן *womb, belly, midst, inside*, בֶּטֶן *clan, kindred*, בֶּטֶן *terebinth*, Maltese

boton *fruit, produce*, vulg. Arab. بَطْن *distiller's vessel*, Tña. meṭṭen *measure* (with

interchange of labials).—בֶּטֶן *womb*, בֶּטֶן *leather bottle*, جود the same, *liberality, generosity*.—بَطْن *womb, measure of capacity and of length*. Whether this word be Semitic

or Iranian, in both it has this double sense.—زُبْرَة *belly, leather bottle*.—حُبْرَة

mother, woman, حُبْرَة *motherly love*, حَبّ *love*, حَبَاب *wine-jug* (حَبّ = حَاب).—

חַיָּה *womb*, חַיָּה *Eve* has probably the meaning of *mother*, חַיָּה , חַיָּה *clan*.—

Assyr. ummātu *army*, חַיָּה = Assy. umāmu *animal*, Irob-Saho hīāu *people*, Tña. hēiāuāi *mild, affable, humane*, חַיָּה *bag*. חַיָּה *clan* probably means *mother of every*

clan, i. e., of all human society.—חַיָּה , חַיָּה *leather bottle*, Assy. hām tu, *sign of*

the feminine, must mean *womb, woman*, or both, חַיָּה *cause to love* (in the pregnant

branch (cf. *فَرْع* branch and *فَرْعَة* uppers); *רְוִיקָתָא*, *רְקָתָא*, shore, VL., Succā 26 a.¹

b) *בִּוּתָא* or *בִּוּתָא*, *عُבُو*, Eg. Arab. *بُو*, a kind of owl.

c) *בִּיקָתָא* gnat; *גִּינָתָא* garden; *מִסְתָא* sufficiency.

§ 799. ע"י: a) *אִימָתָא* fear; *דִּוְבָתָא* debt, guilt.

b) *דִּרְתָא* residence; *עֲקָתָא* trouble.

§ 800. לו"י: *רְשֻׁוּתָא*, *רְשֻׁוּתָא*, debt, permission; *חַיָּוְתָא* animal; *בְּלִיָּתָא* rag; *אַלְיָתָא* fat-tail.—*קְרִיָּתָא* city.

b) *בְּרִיתָא* daughter.²—*קְרִיתָא* city.—*קוּסְתָא* (= קוסתא) village (§ 796 b).

qitl.—§ 801. *אִיפְכָא* reverse, opposite;³ *גִּירָסָא* study;⁴ *טָהָר*, *טִיהָרָא* clearing; *מִצְרָא* boundary;⁵ *עֵיבָרָא*, *עֵיבָרָא*, yonder side; *פִּירָכָא* objection;⁶ *אִיבָרָא*, *אִיבָרָא*, limb.⁷—*יִצְרָא*.

§ 802. ע"א: a) *בִּירָא* well; *דִּיבָא* wolf; *פִּיבָא* pain; *פִּירָא* fruit, plur. *פִּירֵי* C. MS. Pes. 104 a (voc.); *יִרְמָא*.

b) *דִּוְבָא* = *דִּיבָא*.

§ 803. ע"ן: plur. *חִינְיָא* cavity of the mouth.

§ 804. ע"ע: a) *נִיפָא* miracle; *שִׁיפָא* chip; *אַנְיָפָא*, *אַנְיָפָא*, matting.⁸

b) *טִיבָא* nature, character; *טִינָא* moist clay; *פִּיבָא*, *פִּיבָא*, roast, VL., Sanh. 70 a.

c) *טוּלָא* shade.

§ 805. ע"י: *דִּינָא* law; *שִׁישָׁא*, *שִׁישָׁא*, *שִׁישָׁא*, *שִׁישָׁא*, alabaster jug.

expression: *حَمَتَكَ أَلَلَّ عَلَى*.—Assyr. *kirimmu womb*, *kirēmu leather bag*, *kirummu drinking-jar*, *karāmu* and derivatives (§ 795 a, n.), *כֶּרֶם* be kind, generous, etc.—*קֶרֶב* womb, midst, *זֶמְלָא* womb, vessel, *קֶרֶבָּא*, *קֶרֶבָּא*, leather bottle, *קֶרֶב* affability. Here may also belong *קֶרֶבָּא* relative, usually derived from *קֶרֶב* be near (= קרב) *רָחֵם* womb, *רָחֵם* woman, *רָחֵם* to love, *רָחֵם* pity, *רָחֵם* kindred.—*תֶּדֶן* midst, *זֶמְלָא* leather bottle, Somali *deh middle*, *duh vagina*, *deh generosity*.

¹ This may be explained either by *רַקָּא* passing into *רוּקָא*, a frequent phenomenon, or by diphthongization (§ 80); cf. *זֶמְלָא* = *זֶמְלָא* = *זֶמְלָא*.

² For *דגש* of *ת* cf. König, *HG.*, II, 1, § 172, 2 sq.

³ Cf. Hebr. *סִבְכָּו*, Targ. *מִבְּכָא* (Merx, *Chr. Targ.*, Glossary, s. v. *בכא*), and the traditional pronunciation of *טִפְחָא*. Cf. König, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 471.

⁴ Cf. *גִּירָאִי* TR., II, 50.

⁵ Assyr. *maçaru* = *baçaru* cut.

⁶ Cf. König, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. *פִּירָא*, *פִּירָא*, *פִּירָא*, etc.

⁸ The word is connected with Hebr. *צִפְפָּה* (§ 966, n. 2).

§ 806. לֹרִי : a) טִיחָא *glazing*; שִׁיתָא, שִׁיתָא, *warp*; שְׁחִי, Meg 13b = שִׁיחִי פִּיחִי C. MS. *ibid.* (voc.).¹

b) אִישָׁא *fire*;² עֵילָא, *above*.

c) Some of the following forms may belong to b: בִּיר (= *birī* = *bir'i*) *my funeral repast* (§ 109);³ פִּילָא *split*; שִׁינָא *mountain path, defile*, Sanh. 96b.⁴

qillat.—§ 807. דְּמִיעָא *tear*; פִּיסְקָא *plot, lot*; עֵגְלָא *calf*; כִּסְיָא *coral* (= *כִּסְנָא).⁵

§ 808. עֵין : plur. חִישִׁי *wheat*.

§ 809. ע"ע : a) בִּינָא = حَبْنٌ, *hair, worm, fruit-stone, grain*;⁶ מִילָא *word, thing*.

b) מִילָא [מ], cf. §§ 77, 90.

§ 810. ע"י : בִּירָא *palace*; דִּירָא *residence*.

§ 811. לֹרִי : a) סִלְיָא, Hebr. שְׁלִיָּה.

b) זְנוּתָא.

c) סִלְיָא or סִלְתָּא = (1) סִלְיָא, (2) סִלְתָּא.

qut(u)l.—§ 812. אוּדְנָא *ear*; אוּרָא *way*; דּוּבָר *back*, דּוּחָא *hand-spike*, Beḇā 30a;⁷ פּוּפְרָא, פּוּפְרָא, *ransom*.

b) קִישְׁמָא *ashes*, قُشْمَةٌ, قُشْمَةٌ (§ 50, g); תּוּלָא = תּוּלָא.

§ 813. פּוּרִי : יוּדְרָא *arrogance*; יוּקְרָא *dearth*.

§ 814. ע"א : נֹדָא *leather bottle*.⁸

¹ In Aramaic, as in later Hebrew, nouns לֹרִי of the form فَعْل retain their first vowel like those of לֹרִי. Cf. שְׁחִי, יָפִי for שִׁיחִי, יוּפִי.

² Cf. § 864, n. 2.

³ Cf. marginal note *ad loc.* This is usually translated *son*. Cf. בִּרָא *eat*, Hull. 87a, and Hebr. בִּרְיָה, plur. תִּינָא, תִּינָא (= מִתְנָא), *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 12, from which a secondary form מִתְנָא occurs, *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴ שִׁנָּא = ثَنِي. The word literally means *fold, wrinkle*. Since a wrinkle consists of elevation, slope, and depression, the word may denote any one of these configurations. Hence שִׁינָא *mountain slope, difficult mountain path, defile, mountain ridge*, strand, sloping shore, שְׁוִינָא *embankment*, Assy. mušannitu = מְשֻׁנָּא, for *mušanītu.

⁵ Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, L, 309.

⁶ אבן = بَنَانٌ. Cf. Assy. a banu = بَنَانٌ *finger*. The stem shows the same double development as in Assyrian: (1) בִּרְיָא *something finger-shaped, long and thin*; hence, *hair, worm*; cf. Eg. Arab. بَنِي *best Nile fish*; (2) *something protruding, hard*; hence, *fruit stone, grain, seed*; cf. בִּרְיָא *grain*, بَنِي *coffee-berries*.

⁷ Cf. Brüll, *Beth Talmūd*, I, 13.

⁸ This is probably connected with Eth. 'anada *skin, hide*, which goes back to نَدَى *be wet*; cf. Eth. reṭāb. נֹדָא = نَدَى.

§ 815. ע'י: a) אִנְפִּיָּא *foundation*; גִּדְגָדָא *wall*, Eth. gadgad; גִּדְגָדָא *bank, shore*; cf. قَاطِع *place*; מוֹרָא, מוֹר, מֵר, *myrrh*.

b) שְׁתִּיתָ (§§ 23c, 155).¹

c) מִיָּדָא (= מוֹדָא) *brain*, VL., Sanh. 95*a*; מִיָּדָא (= מוֹדָא), VL., Meg. 10*b*.—שְׂתִיתָא (= שְׂתוּתָא).

§ 816. עָרִי, פִּירָא, פִּירָא, or פִּירָא, פִּירָא, or פִּירָא, *short in stature*, Alf. B. M. 81b (§ 785); טַבָּא *much, very*; נִירָא *fire*; שִׁירָא *wall*; תִּירָא *garlic*.²

§ 817. לָרִי : a) פִּירִיָּא *whelp*; הִימִרִיָּא *likeness*; פִּיתִיָּא *width*.

b) דוּרָא *load*; טוּלָא *patch*; פּוּתָא, אִפּוּתָא, Assyr. pûtu, *forehead*,³ plur. אִפּוּי *twigs*.

qut(u)lat.—אִיזִילָתָא, אִיזִילָתָא, אִיזִילָתָא, *web*; חִיבִּרְתָּא; *shoulder*; פִּיטִילָתָא *shoulder*; בִּיכְרְתָּא; חִכְמָתָא; עִירְלָתָא; עִירְבָתָא.⁴

§ 818. חָלַל, גֻּלְגֹּלֶת, מַעֲבֵדִים; אֶרֶץ הַחַיִּים nation; אֶרֶץ הַחַיִּים cloak; פֶּה, פֶּה place, traditional pronunciation הַפֶּה.

§ 819: ער"י *evening*; בִּיתָא, בִּיעָתָא, *abscess*.

§ 820. פִּילִיתָא *kidneys*. plur. פִּילִיתָא : לו"י *cub*.

¹ Cf. , with quššajā, Audou, *Dict. de la langue chald.*, Preface, p. 6.

² **فوم** means not only garlic, but a number of other plants. This shows that the word does not contain a characteristic of garlic, but goes back to the general idea of fruitfulness. It is, therefore, not improbable that the word go back to **ثمر**, and the line of development might still be traced out. **فوم** goes back to ***فون**, which we find in **פון bean = فول = *ثول**. The last stem comes through **ثبل** from **ثمل**, which is but a by-form of **ثمر**. The latter appears also as **تم** (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 583). It is not impossible that **فول** meant not only *beans*, but also *spices* = **ثبل**, if **قَرَنُفول** be an Arabic, or Aramaic, compound (and an Indo-germanic origin has not been found for the word), properly *spice-horn*. But perhaps shortened from **قَرَنُفُلُفول**. Cf. the compound **دَاغُلُفُل**.

³ Luzzatto identifies it with Hebr. פֶּתַח. Cf. my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 130. The underlying idea for forehead in many languages is that of extent (width or height). Cf. Kluge, *s. v.* stirn, Arab. جَبْهَة, Eth. pheçem, Hebr. מִצְחָה, must be = מִשְׁחָה, מִתַּח. Is מִשְׁחָה, connected with רָחַם?

⁴ **ערובא** Yalqût, Lev. 647.

⁵ דַּדֵּךְ has the sense of **مَضْرَبٌ** = **דוכחא**; **ضرب**. Etymologically connected, although on a different line of development, is Assy. *ma dāk-tu camp*. Cf. Irob-Saho, *dik village*.

2. TWO SHORT VOWELS.

qatal.—§ 821. a) גַּמְלָא camel; חֲדָתָא new; כֶּרְמָא capitation tax,¹ אֶטְרָף, אֶטְרָפָא, leaf.

b) עֲגָלָא, עֲגָלָא, haste; חֲזָקָא presumption,² [לְמָחָר] tomorrow, later; קָהָלָא assembly,³ שִׁפְמָא mustache.

c) בִּישָׁר, בִּישָׁרָא, flesh, meat; הִילָפָא, Assyrl. elapû; מִי־טָרָא rain.

d) בּוּצְלָא onion; סוּכְלָא fool.

§ 822. יִבְלָא : פּוֹרִי newborn child, young; יִבְלָא cynodon.

§ 823. עֲנָנָא cloud; עֲלָלָא gain; עֲבָבָא : עֵע chaff, stubble.

§ 824. a) לּוֹרִי : a) טַלְיָא young; קַנְיָא cane, reed; תַּפְיָא, תַּפְיָא, תַּפְיָא, תַּפְיָא, good will.—Plur.: עֲלֵיָא leaves; שְׁמֵיָא heaven.

b) הֲוֵיָא, plur. הֲוֵיָא (= הֲוֵיָא), arguments, VL., B. B. 134a; מְרִי.⁴

c) אָבָא my father; אָנָא = אָנָא bowl, VL., B. B. 126b; with prothesis: אֶסְנָא = סֶנָא = סֶנָא.—Plur.: תַּיָא breasts.

d) אָבָא father; אָחָא brother; אָחָא father-in-law; יָדָא hand. *qatalat*.—§ 825. a) חֲדָתָא, חֲדָתָא, חֲדָתָא, new; עֲקָרָתָא barren; יִבְמִתָא.

b) הִילָכָתָא; חֲזָקָתָא presumption; אִימָרָא border; cf. Assyrl. amartu and عِمْرَانُ turban, عَمْرَان both ends of the sleeves.⁵

§ 826. עֲלָלָא produce; רַבְבָּתָא myriad.

§ 827. a) לּוֹרִי : a) בְּנִיָּתָא benefit; צְלוּתָא (= çalautâ) prayer; אֶסְנָא, אֶסְנָתָא or אֶסְנָתָא = אֶסְנָא.

b) אֶמְתָּא, אֶמְתָּא, maid-servant; שִׁפְתָּא, שִׁפְתָּא, lip; שְׁנָא, שְׁנָא, year.

qatil.—§ 828. a) אֶפְלָא dark; אֶלְבָּא strong,⁶ חֲבֵרָא companion; פֶּבְדָּא liver; שְׁמֵנָא fat.

¹ So vocalized in SM. No. xxv.

² חֲזָקָא TG. ed. Harkavy, § 79; חֲזָקָא *ibid.* § 546.

³ Pal. Syr. ܩܗܠܐ probably = qihla.

⁴ הֲוֵיָא, הֲוֵיָא, *Igg. Šertrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4.

⁵ For another etymology cf. ZA., XI, 212.

⁶ Adjectives of this form interchange with those of *qattil*, e. g.: אֶלְבָּא, אֶלְבָּא, קֶלְיָא, קֶלְיָא, קֶלְיָא, קֶלְיָא, are used promiscuously with אֶלְבָּא, אֶלְבָּא, קֶלְיָא, קֶלְיָא.

b) סְפִיקָא *double*; הִבִּירָא *merely*; אֶפִּילָא *doubt*; פְּסִידָא *loss*; קָדֵר C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.), קִידָרָא, קִידָרָא, *pot*; רְחִילָא *ewe*; שְׁמִינָא *fat*.

c) לִיבְנָא *brick*, VL., B. M. 116b; מִשְׁדָּא *dimension*; שְׁלֵטָא *grandee*.

§ 829. יָבֵשׁ : פֿוֹרִי *dry*; יָתֵמָא *orphan*.

§ 830. קָטָא *old*; חַיָּא *alive*; רַבָּא *great*; קָל : עֵ"ע.

§ 831. מֵתָא *dead*; עֵדָא *witness*; עֵירָא *awake, living*, Sanh. 29b.

§ 832. לוֹרִי : Here the forms cannot be distinguished from those of *qatal*: עָנִיא *poor*; קָשִׁיא *hard*.

qatilat.—§ 833. a) אֲבִידָתָא, אֲבִידָתָא (VL., B. M. 23b), *lost thing*,¹ גְּנִיבָתָא *stolen thing*; דְּבִילָתָא *fig-cake*; חֲבִירָתָא *compan-ion*; פְּנִישָׁתָא *assembly*; חֲשִׁכָתָא *darkness*; לְהִינָתָא *concubine*.²

b) מִשְׁחָתָא *dimension*; תְּכִילָתָא, תְּכִילָתָא, *purple-blue*.

§ 834. a) יָבֵשׁ : פֿוֹרִי *dry*; לֹאֵן *loan*.

b) דְּעָתָא *opinion*; חִימָתָא *wrath*; שֵׁינָתָא *sleep*.

§ 835. עֵ"ע : a) רַבָּתִי *great*.³—b) מִרִּירָתָא *gall*.

§ 836. לוֹרִי : plur. קְשִׁירָתָא *date stones*.

qatul(at).—§ 837. a) אַפְּא (= אַפְּאָ) *hyena*; קִדְמָא, קִדְמָתָא, *early*.

b) חֲשׁוּכָא *late at night*; נְהוּרָא (sic), נְהוּרָא, *light*; קִדְמָא *early*, VL., Pes. 8b.—Plur.: אַחֲרִי *behind*; perhaps תְּחִלָּתִי *spotted*.⁴

qital(at).—§ 838. עֵינְבָא *berry*; עֵינְבָתָא, *id.*; שִׁיכָרָא *mead*.—Plur. נְכִסֵּי *property*.

¹ The vowel after ד is a helping vowel and not the affirmative [ending]. Cf. also עֲבִידָתָא VL., B. M. 77a.

² On the etymology of this word cf. Fleischer *apud* Levy, II., 534b sq. A similar development shows פִּילְגֵנֶשׁ : פִּלְגֵנֶשׁ *miserly, ignoble, vile*, which appears in Eg. Arab. as سِلْفَات *parasite* and goes back to قفل X. (Eg. Arab. فَلْغَس lower the head is denominative of قَفْلَة *head*, about which see § 966, n. 1), is the etymon of פִּילְגֵנֶשׁ. Cf. פִּלְגֵנֶשׁ = فَلْغَس.

From the meaning of the last word (cf. Lane's *Dict.*, s. v.), from the use of Hebr. פִּילְגֵנֶשׁ for both sexes, and from the contrast of פִּילְגֵנֶשִׁים (נְשִׁים) with נְשִׁים שְׂרוּת (1 Kgs. 11:3), the development is not difficult to trace. The *ignoble, vile*, in a primitive community, where all members of the clan are equal, could only be applied to foreign slaves. פִּילְגֵנֶשׁ, then, means *slave*, male or female, married to a free person, or to another slave. As those used as concubines were mostly, or altogether, slaves, slave and concubine became synonymous.

³ This is usually confounded with Hebr. רַבָּתִי.

⁴ Cf. Barth, NB., p. 13 sq.

נִזְיָא, Alf. M. Q. 12b; נִזְיָא seeds; סְמִיחָא, סְמִיחָא, סְמִיחָא, a blind one, properly one of the blind, Alf. B. Q. 31b and Rašī *ibid.*

b) מֶר (= *mārī*, § 109), const. st. מֶרָא, מֶרִי, master, lord.

qātilat.—§ 844. a) פְּהִלָּה woman of priestly family.

b) חֻרְגָּתָא step-daughter. Hebrew loan-word.

§ 845. לוֹי: a) אֲשִׁיתָא foundation; זֵיתָא corner; תְּבִיתָא keg; נִזְיָא large vat; نَزِيَّة, نَزِيَّة, نَزِيَّة (= *nazīḏānātā*); סְבִיתָא bar-maid, plur. סְבִיטָא.

b) מֶרָא lady, Gitt. 12a.

c) Plur.: אֲשִׁיתָא foundations.

qāṭul.—§ 846. In assuming a form *qāṭul*, it is perhaps superfluous to say that Hebr. *qāṭōl* and Arab. فَعُول are not considered to have any connection with it. König's arguments (*HG.*, II, 1, § 64) are not convincing for the following reasons: The occasional dropping of the first vowel in our current Targumic texts (and nowhere else) does not prove the original shortness of the vowel. It is due to Babylonian-Aramaic influence (§ 787). That language drops long vowels as easily as short ones; *cf.*, *e. g.*, עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא, for עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא. If the second vowel be originally *ā*, no explanation is offered why, against all analogy, not only all Aramaic languages, but also the Arabic, have *ō*, *ū*. While, moreover, in Aramaic *ā* sometimes becomes *ō*, that it becomes *u* in Arabic cannot be shown, even if the foreign مَاجُوج should be an uninfluenced transliteration. But see on

that word § 933, n. 1. The question why the form קְטוּלָא should occur only in Aramaic is easily answered by pointing to the prominent part the *u*-vowel plays in the Aramaic verb (§ 228). Furthermore, the lengthening of the second vowel in *qāṭil* (§ 842b) makes such a process in *qāṭul* not exceptional. That such lengthening should take place mostly in *qāṭul*, is easily explained by the special development in its meaning. Lastly, the existence of a form *qāṭul* can actually be shown. *Cf.* هَازِبَانِيَّة, بَادَوَان, رَاوَل, رَاوَل, perhaps also دَاوَد (but *cf.* Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, I, 58); Persian کَزَر = مَزَن (Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, II., 42); סְהוּדוּתִיָּה *Se'elt.* § 55. *Cf.* also Schwally's remark on Pal. Syr.

מַעֲבֵד (Idioticon, s. v. מַעֲבֵד). That the *u*-vowel in forms with active force is secondary, has so far not been demonstrated.

§ 847. Nouns of this form, when the second vowel is omitted, are not distinguishable from *qâtil*. It is only when that vowel has been retained and, of course, lengthened, that we can recognize it. The majority of the nouns of this form are *nomina agentis*; but some, as in *qâtil*, are concrete substantives. Nouns of this formation frequently take the ending אָה־, without change in meaning. This accounts for their taking frequently in the plural the termination אָה־.

§ 848. אָקוּשָׁא *hard* (קשׁ = אקשׁ, as קני = אקן); בַּעֲרָא *torch*; רַחוּשָׁא *runner*; תַּנוּרָא, تَنْوَرٌ, M. Q. 11 a.¹—Plur.: דַּאקוּרֵיָא *baskets*, VL., Hull. 4a; עַמּוּרֵיָא *dealers in wool*.²

NOTE.—Not here belong the Assyrian loan-words פַּשׁוּרָא *gašûru*, כִּנְיָנָא *kinûnu*, פַּשְׁשׁוּרָא *paššûru*. The desire to preserve the foreign vowel (§ 84) and the popularity of the form קַטוּלָא are responsible for this form. An instructive example in this connection is פְּרוּבִים = כְּאוּבִים. Cf. also § 933, n. 1.

§ 849. יֶנּוּקָא *child*; יֶרוּקָא *yellow, green*; יְחוּבָא *sojourner*; יֶרוּאָר, יֶרוּוּאָר, יֶרוּוּאָר (Audio, s. v.), *ferule*. The by-form יֶרוּוּאָר suggests Egyptian origin. Is it Saho aûrâûr?

§ 850. חַטוּשָׁא *digger*; חַטוּשָׁא.

§ 851. חַטוּשָׁא *inn-keeper*; חַטוּשָׁא *strainer*.

§ 852. חַטוּשָׁא = חַטוּשָׁא, VL., B. Q. 84a; חַטוּשָׁא *builder*; חַטוּשָׁא *collector*.

qâtulât.—§ 853. חַטוּשָׁא *child*.

§ 854. חַטוּשָׁא: a) חַטוּשָׁא, חַטוּשָׁא, *remedy*; חַטוּשָׁא *exile*,³ חַטוּשָׁא *error*,⁴ חַטוּשָׁא (§ 160); חַטוּשָׁא, *request*.—Plur.: חַטוּשָׁא *bar-maids*. This may be a corruption for חַטוּשָׁא; but, if it be correct, it would show the persistence of the typical vowel of the masculine form.⁵ b) חַטוּשָׁא *repast*.⁶

¹ This word has not been recognized by commentators and lexicographers. Cf. Raši in Alfasi, loc. cit.: חַטוּשָׁא. חַטוּשָׁא.

² On the more usual form of a *nomen agentis* derived from an חַטוּשָׁא cf. § 951.—Cf. חַטוּשָׁא Igg. Šertrâ, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

³ Plur.: חַטוּשָׁא Igg. Šertrâ, ed. Neubauer, p. 27.

⁴ Plur.: חַטוּשָׁא, read: חַטוּשָׁא, TG, ed. Harkavy, § 436.

⁵ On חַטוּשָׁא cf. § 84, note.

⁶ Change of vowel due to ח. Cf. §§ 68, 273.

4. SHORT VOWEL IN THE FIRST SYLLABLE AND LONG VOWEL IN THE SECOND.

فُعَال.—§ 855. Nouns of these forms frequently interchange with those of فُعِيل;¹ less frequently with those of فُعُول and فَعُول. Under the influence of an initial א or ע, or of an adjoining labial, or emphatic consonant, the vowel of the first syllable is frequently retained. Some of these forms, as well as other forms with long vowel in the second syllable, are frequently reduced to فُعל-forms (§§ 92, 783).²

§ 856. a) אִינֶשׁ (= אִינִישׁ) *man*;³ אִרְהָא (= אִרְיָהָא) *lath*; אִרְעָא, אִרְעָא, *arm*; פִּרְעָא, פִּרְעָא, *leg*;⁴ מִחְקָא, מִחְקָא, *erasure*;⁵ נְשִׁוּרָא MM. Pes. 111b = נִשְׂרָא (§ 81); סְמִכָא, סְמִכָא, *reliance*;⁶ plur. סוּפְלִי, סְפָלָא, *kernels*; סְעִירִי *barley*;⁷ עִיבְדָא *deed*; אִפְשָׁר *perhaps*, properly *hypothetically*; cf. פִּרְעָא, from פִּרְשׁ = פִּשָׁר; אִפְתָּלָא *wicked, perverse*, VL., Taan. 25a; שְׁטִירָא⁸ *document*, c. plur. שְׁטִירָא C. MS. M. Q. 13a; שְׁנִינְצָא, שְׁנִינְצָא, *purse-string, shoe latchet* (cf. שְׁנִינְצִיָּה VL., B. M. 26a).⁹

¹ This explains the difficulty Blau finds in the forms קִרְיָהָא, קִרְיָא (Zur Einl. in die Heil. Schrift, p. 12, n. 1).

² Cf. Hebr. שְׁטִירִי, שְׁטִירִי, כְּתָבִי, כְּתָבִי.

³ אִינֶשׁ and אִינִישׁ occur in the singular only in the absolute state. With aphaeresis of א only in the expression בֵּית נְאֻשָּׁה *her (his) parental house*. The development of meaning from *man* to *parent* is as follows: אִינֶשׁ *man* as opposed to *child*; *grown man, adult, having right to self-representation and independence*, as opposed to *minors, dependent on their parents*; hence, *parents*. Cf. אִינֶשׁ אִינֶשׁ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ Bruns-Sachau, *Syr.-röm. Rechtsbuch*, L., § 8; אִינֶשׁ אִינֶשׁ אִינֶשׁ *ibid.* § 25.

⁴ קִרְיָהָא JQR., IX, 702.

⁵ מִחְקָא *ibid.* 701.

⁶ סְמִיכָא *Igg. Šeritā*, ed. Goldberg, pp. 11, 12.

⁷ סְעִירִי SM. No. LXX (voc.).

⁸ שְׁטִירָא HG. 359.

⁹ The stem שְׁנִינְצָא occurs in Pal. Aram. as שְׁנִינְצָא, in Pal. Syr. as سِنِيْنِصَا, in Babyl. Aram. as سِنِيْنِصَا (Šc., VI., § 22), in Hebr. as שְׁנִינְצָא, in Arab. as سِنِيْنِصَا, in Tigre as sennete *tie the purse-strings*; cf. mošnet *purse-string*. All these forms go back to שְׁנִינְצָא. שְׁנִינְצָא changes on the one hand to a dental; cf. פִּתַּח = פִּתַּח, שְׁקָה = שְׁקָה, Irob-Saho kumal; on the other hand it becomes a sibilant (through š). Cf. عَصْل = عَصْل *be crooked*, عِلَال = عِلَال *edibles*, قَبْر = قَبْر *grave*, صَبْر = صَبْر *patience*, رَمَض = رَمَض *month of fasting*, شَصَاب = شَصَاب, شَبِص = شَبِص, رَزَز = رَزَز *to be shaken*, مَرَسَى = مَرَسَى *port*. Cf. also

‘Omānee Arab. كَدَف = كَدَف, وَت = وَت.

b) With secondary doubling (§ 44): אוֹפֶפֶא saddle; אָאָף; לִישָׁנָא, לִישָׁנָא, tongue.

c) תְּהוֹמָא, רְחוֹבָא, Hebrew loan-words.

§ 857. יִמְמִי day, daytime, plur. יִמְמִי VL., B. M. 28a; יִסְדָּא, יִסְדָּא, יִסְדָּא, Eth. uaseid, head-rest; יִקְרָא honor.

§ 858. בּוֹ' דְּנִיבָא בּוֹטְטָא pressure; שִׁיבָבָא, שִׁיבָבָא, neighbor, vulgar Arab. بَصَّة نَار; מְשַׁפָּא reality; דְּרָא, דְּרָא, be near; שִׁבְבָּא snivelling brat, chit (شَرٌّ); דְּרָא eventual loss (فَرَصَ).

§ 859. כּוֹנֵן פִּיזָא curse; דְּרִישָׁא threshing; שִׁיבָבָא caravan; אֲרוֹשָׁא noise, VL., Ber. 58a (عاش).

§ 860. a) מְלָא' goods; תְּנָא, תְּנָא, condition; אֲקָרָא perchance.

b) קְרָא, קְרָא, Scripture; plur. קְרָא (and קְרָא), with retention of א.

§ 861. צִיִּלְחָתָא, צִלְחָתָא she-ass; מְגִרִים, מְגִרִים, megrim; plur. אֲבַנְתָּא properly fingers, Assyr. abanu, only in אֲבַנְתָּא pericardium.³

§ 862. שִׁיבָבָא, שִׁיבָבָא, neighbor (= שִׁיבָבָא VL., Sanh. 82a).

§ 863. לֹטְטָא curse; שִׁיבָבָא caravan.

§ 864. a) נְכִייתָא deduction, discount.

b) אֲחָתָא sister;⁴ אֲשָׁתָא fire, Assyr. išatu;⁵ הַמִּוֹתָא, הַמִּוֹתָא, mother-in-law; מְנָתָא share.⁶

c) הַיִּמְתָּא mother-in-law.

¹ The spelling with א proves the word to be a loan-word.

² אֲרוֹשָׁא occurs only in perfect and participle Qal. The dictionaries make it incorrectly Pa'el. For the etymology cf. also Tña. 'aḡoḡe proclaim, publish.

³ Rašī explains this correctly by מְרַפְשִׁי. No מְרַפְשָׁא דְּנִבְרָא = شِوْا وَنَصْرُ = אֲצִפֵּעַ הַקְּבֵד = German Dämel. Cf. Kohut, 'Ar. Compl., s. v. תְּצִירָא. Whether the singular had the feminine ending is at least doubtful. شِغَاف suggests that Hebr. שִׁעָפִים originally meant pericardium. Then, like קְלִיֹּת נֶלֶב, thoughts.

⁴ אֲחָתָא HG. 454. On the u-vowel, cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr., I., index, s. v. أخت.

⁵ Hebr. אֵש comes from the same stem אָשִׁי and is a form like אֵשׁ (ל) above. If it have any connection with أَنْيَسَة it is only indirectly, أَنْس and אָשִׁי being parallel stems.

⁶ Plur. מְנָתָא TG. ed. Harkavy, § 343; מְנָתָא ibid, § 546.

—§ 865. אֶדְנָהּ, אֶסְנָהּ, an inferior kind of date = *فُعِيل*; *דַּעַץ* *pricking pain in the eyes* (*דַּעַץ*); *עֲסָה* = *עֲסָה* = *עֲסָה*; *קָבִיעַ* *blind*,³ *עֲדָה* *better*,² *טַעַן* *load*, Sanh. 105b; *בִּישָׁא* *bad* (*בִּישָׁא*); perhaps *אֶדְנָהּ* *injury*, cf. *זִיקָן*; but it may also be = *הֶדְנָהּ*.

§ 866. ע"ע : אִי־יָצָא = אִי־צָא ; פּוֹטֶטָא = פּוֹטֶטָא *club*;
 פִּלִּינָא *crown*; עֵסִיסָא, עֵצִיצָא, עֵסְסָא, *flower-pot*,⁴ אִי־נָא *sensitive*,
 Eth. *manana*, Tigré *uonne*, *fanfane*, *be disgusted with*.

§ 867. לִרְיָ *prophet*; צִי *chirping* (√ צא).

§ 868. בִּישָׁתָא *evil, bad* (בֹּאשׁ); סִפִּינָתָא *ship*; רִפְתָּא *bread* (רִיקָא); שְׂכִינָתָא, 'עִיר'.

§ 869. **נְבִיאָתָא** : לו"י. *prophetess*.

فُعُول.—§ 870. a) לְבוּשָׁא dress; פְּסִיקָא verse; מְשִׁלֵּהא messenger; גְּמוּר perfect, thorough; סְבוּר,⁵ plur. שְׂבוּעֵי.⁶

b) With secondary doubling: קד־ישא.

c) תַּרְוּדָא *spoon* (for *תַּרְוִידָא, § 81).⁷

¹ ✓ عشن = عشم = عهن *dry up*. These words belong to a numerous group with a changeable root عس , عش , غش , غس , أس , etc., whose primitive meaning is *cover*. This shows the following development :

cover	{	comprimere feminam	{	wash (غسل)
		dip into water		drown, ruin
		vail, faint		
	{	obscure, grow dark	{	dry up
become corrupt				
				cheat, wrong, oppress (§ 887, n. 1).

אֶרֶז, therefore, need not mean *dried up*, but may mean *discolored, corrupt* = آسن.
Cf. Hebr. באשים. On interchange of gutturals and sibilants cf. § 26 and "Additions and Corrections" to that section.

² עֲדִירָה *JQR.*, IX, 694, 697.

³ עור = Assy. *אמר* *close up*; עִירָא as opposed to פְּתִיחָא, פִּקְחָא *open-eyed*; טַמְטִים הַלֵּב = חֲמֵל חָטָא.

⁴ $\sqrt{\text{عس}}$ cover (§ 865, n. 4) like חֲבִיתָה , خَابِئَة , from חָבַא , خَبَأَ , hide; קְפֻתָּה basket, $\sqrt{\text{כֹּו}}$ cover.

⁵ סאביר *Igg. Šertrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 18.

⁶ Hebr. שְׁבוּעוֹת.

^٧ ^٧ ^٧ ^٧ spoon, bowl; cf. Alg. Arab. ^٧ ^٧ porringer, ^٧ ^٧ small dish, **Maltese** ^٧ ^٧ mafrad earthen dish.